



ANG

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# Bayan

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# Jose Ma. Sison

February 8, 1939 - December 16, 2022



Ka Julie at Ka Joma's wake in Utrecht, The Netherlands December 19 2022

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*It is with deepest grief that I have to be the one to issue my husband's last and final message to the revolutionary forces and the people on the 54th anniversary of the Communist Party of the Philippines. He started discussing with me the outline and writing of the message a few days a month ago when he just got discharged from the hospital at his second confinement in November and just before the start of his third and last confinement on November 28. He wrote the first draft on paper, which I keyed in to the computer and then he reread and corrected it twice to produce this final draft below.*

*Some fifteen or so minutes before Joma took his last breath, he was still talking about ensuring the the revolution would win victory and advancing to socialism. With his last thoughts he remained optimistic about the Filipino people whom he served with utmost determination.*

*Juliet de Lima Sison*

# **THE FILIPINO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IS INVINCIBLE**

Jose Maria Sison  
Founding Chairman  
Communist Party of the Philippines  
December 26, 2022

**S**ince after the reestablishment of Communist Party of the Philippines on December 26, 1968 and the prompt founding of the New People's Army on March 29, 1969, every reactionary regime of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines (from the time of Ferdinand Marcos, Sr. to the present) has adopted and implemented a strategic operational plan to destroy the Filipino people's democratic revolution.

But each strategic 'oplan' has always utterly failed and instead resulted in the significant growth of the revolutionary movement. Marcos went to the extent of imposing a fascist dictatorship on the people from 1972 to 1986 on the pretext of suppressing the CPP and armed revolution, "save the republic and build a new society". But his power grab merely stimulated and accelerated the all-round growth of the revolutionary movement nationwide. Ultimately, the armed revolution inspired and backed up the people's mass uprisings in Metro Manila and nationwide in order to remove the fascist dictatorship from power.

The pseudo-liberal democratic regimes that followed the Marcos fascist dictatorship tried to combine their respective military strategic 'oplans' with tactics of deception, including offers of prolonged ceasefire and peace negotiations without addressing the roots of the armed conflict or civil war. Every reactionary regime has been obsessed with destroying the revolutionary movement and preserving the unjust ruling system of oppression and exploitation.

It has used the anti-terrorist card anytime to delay, suspend or terminate the peace negotiations, despite such major joint agreements between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines as The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 as framework for peace negotiations and the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for



Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law of 1998.

Despite the peace negotiations, every reactionary regime has taken the liberty of killing cadres and members of the revolutionary movement. When the NPA captured General Obillo of the reactionary armed forces under the terms of the CARHRIHL and international laws in 1998, it immediately announced willingness to release him as a prisoner of war upon agreement on the safe procedure for his release. But Estrada continuously took offense and used the capture of his general to become the first reactionary president to terminate the peace negotiations in May 1999.

After his overthrow by people's mass uprisings in 2001, the Arroyo regime agreed to resume the peace negotiations in 2002, with the Royal Norwegian Government as the third-party facilitator. But in 2004 it became obvious that the Arroyo regime was following US dictates to slow down the negotiations on substantive issues and to suspend them indefinitely and unleash bigger military operations in the name of the "whole-of-nation approach". These military operations failed utterly to destroy the people's war. The rabid anti-communist defense secretary would eventually commit suicide upon exposure of his corruption in the handling of the military budget and even of the retirement funds of AFP officers and personnel.



With the late Atty. Romeo Capulong, former NDFP counsel



## I. COMPLETE SABOTAGE OF THE GRP-NDFP PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

But the worst came when Duterte became president. He pretended to be eager to conduct peace negotiations but he carried out an all-out war policy against the revolutionary movement by extending Aquino's Oplan Bayanihan until January 2017 when Oplan Kapayapaan was adopted and implemented. Instead of joining the NDFP in addressing the roots of the civil war through basic social, economic and political reforms, he concentrated on trivial and puerile tactics calculated to push the revolutionary movement to capitulation by demanding that the people's democratic government give up its legitimate powers, offering CPP representation in his cabinet prior to a peace agreement and then self-contradictorily including the NPA as target of his martial law proclamation against the Maute group in Mindanao in 2017.

Failing to achieve his short-sighted objectives in trying to outwit the NDFP, Duterte agreed with his military minions to stop serious peace negotiations with the NDFP by hyping fake "localized peace talks" under the surveillance and control of the GRP. Duterte and AFP officers became obsessed with increasing the military budget to accommodate their insatiable appetite for corruption and the operations to red-tag,

With wife Ka Julie, current head of the NDFP negotiating panel



With the late Fidel Agcaoili, former head of the NDFP negotiating panel



intimidate people and abduct, detain, torture and murder their political opponents. Thus, the ground was laid for the termination of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations on November 23, 2017 by Duterte after openly consulting US President Trump.

The Duterte's termination of the peace negotiations since 2017 was intended not only as a negotiating trick but as the beginning of ending permanently the peace negotiations. Subsequently, Duterte designated and proscribed the CPP and NPA on December 5, 2017 and ultimately the NDFP on the same grounds, created the National Task Force to Eliminate the Communist Local Armed Conflict (NTF-Elcac) and took advantage of the Covid-19 pandemic to railroad the Anti-Terror Law (ATL) in the servile Congress and the creation of the Anti-Terrorism Council to put the Philippine once more under state terrorism or fascist dictatorship, violate the national and democratic right of the people with impunity and allow those in power to commit treason, tyranny and thievery.

Within this anti-national and anti-democratic framework, Duterte has passed on the reactionary government and ruling system to the Marcos Junior-Sara Duterte tandem by completely controlling the automated electoral system and fabricating more than 20 million votes in favor of the tandem and its candidates for Congress and local executive positions. The current de facto Marcos-Duterte regime is under the dictates of US imperialism and the big comprador-bureaucrat interests of the Marcos and Duterte dynasties and will condone and continue the monstrous crimes of the previous regime until the opposition forces, the revolutionary movement and the broad masses of the people can act to change the situation in the Philippines.

In the meantime, the Filipino people have to suffer the rising level of oppression and exploitation due to the worsening chronic crisis of the ruling system and the anti-national and anti-democratic policies of the Marcos-Duterte

tandem. Day after day, they have to suffer, defy and fight not only the bloody human rights violations but also the fake news in the psywar campaign of those in power that the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces have given up the revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy.

It is absolutely untrue that the people's revolutionary forces are dwindling and being defeated and that the Red cadres, commanders and fighters—all tested and tempered in more than 54 years of victorious people's war—are rapidly being killed or captured in focused military operations or surrendering because of such band-aid offers like the graft-laden Enhanced-Comprehensive Local Integration Program, Community Support Program and Barangay Development Plan. And yet the ruling clique and its military minions keep on demanding more public funds not only to attack the people but also to pocket the larger part of the military budget.



Red fighters from Negros Island celebrate Ka Joma's life, December 19, 2022

The reactionary armed forces have in fact officially admitted that the NPA grew in strength during the Duterte regime. Towards the end of the Aquino II regime in January 2016, when they claimed the success of Oplan Bayanihan, they announced that the NPA commanders and

fighters have been reduced to only 3,900. Now, they claim that at the end of the Duterte regime that they have caused the surrender of nearly 24,000 Red fighters. Unwittingly, they expose themselves as big liars and big budget thieves and admit that the NPA actually increased its strength during the Duterte regime.

## II. WHY THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IS INVINCIBLE

The Filipino people's democratic revolution is invincible because it is just and necessary to fight for and achieve national liberation and democracy against the three evil forces of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism in a rapidly rotting semi-colonial and semifeudal society. This new democratic revolution is a continuation of the old democratic revolution that was started in 1896 by the Katipunan and was victorious against Spanish colonial rule but was defeated by the US war of aggression that started in 1898. This time, the leading class in the revolution is no longer the liberal bourgeoisie but the proletariat in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution.

So long as the aforesaid three evil forces dominate and afflict the Filipino nation, the ground remains fertile for the growth and advance of the people's democratic revolution. The chronic crisis of the ruling system has been worsening not only due to the factors of exploitation and oppression within the Philippines but due to those in the world capitalist system, chiefly US monopoly capitalism. The Philippines is fortunate to have rich natural resources for its own development but unfortunately the imperialist powers and their reactionary puppets have always agreed to exploit the cheap labor of the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the abundant natural resources of the people.

At every major shift of its economic policy in East Asia, US imperialism has always made it a point to prevent the economic development through a



Red fighters pay tribute to Ka Joma, December 19, 2022

program of genuine land reform and national industrialization in the Philippines. We have seen such phenomenon in the periods when the US favored Japan's economic reconstruction and expansion after World War II and the economic growth of the "economic tigers" to serve as anti-communist front liners during the Cold War and when it promoted neoliberalism and fascism and developed a neoliberal partnership with China until their ongoing decoupling and intensified economic competition and political rivalry.

In the course of its closest neoliberal partnership with China, the US and its chief Filipino puppets encouraged and allowed China to encroach on the West Philippine Sea in order to have the pretext for the US to circumvent the constitutional



NPA fighters from Central Luzon take in their a 21-gun salute for Ka Joma

prohibition against foreign military bases and forces in the Philippines by making the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement to allow the US military forces to have exclusive bases and facilities within the camps and military reserve areas of the reactionary armed forces. But now, the US is conspicuously locked in a contest with China to plunder the natural resources of the Philippines and the rest of ASEAN.

China is more than ever hell-bent on keeping its artificial and militarized islands in the West Philippine Sea because its own undersea explorations show that there are at least USD 26.3 trillion of gas, far more than enough to carry out genuine land reform and industrialize the Philippines and thereby fulfill the main socio-economic demand in the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations. Despite all its pious and glittering generalities for helping the ASEAN develop and for starting its reduction of carbon emissions by 2030, China is determined to grab the gas, marine and other natural resources of the Filipino people in the West Philippine Sea.

The Philippine economy and government are bankrupt due to its internal ills and the unprecedented crisis of the world capitalist system. Due mainly to extreme corruption, import-dependent consumption and military overspending, the Duterte regime has more than doubled in only six years to Php 12.5 trillion the Philippine public debt of Php 5.9 trillion which had been accumulated since 1902. He did a favor to Marcos Jr. by making him president through

the fabrication of more than 20 million votes in the last elections but he has given him the big problem of looking for Php 1.6 trillion to pay for amortization and interest payments to support the Php 5.2 trillion budget for 2023.

The Philippine is now reeling from severe conditions of economic depression, decreased export of raw materials and labor, lessened tax revenues and tighter international credit. Production and employment have fallen so steeply. There is severe decline in food production, including rice, vegetable and fish, and inflation is soaring. But the Marcos-Duterte ruling team circulate the painful joke that the people can always buy imported food, despite the big drop in earnings from the export of raw materials and cheap labor.

The Filipino people are outraged that the two worst political dynasties (Marcoses and Dutertes) rule the Philippines, have no solution to the urgent basic problems of the people, but engage in the most scandalous forms of corruption (e.g. unaudited confidential and intelligence funds) and in the increase of the military budget to intimidate the people and suppress mass resistance despite the psywar claims that the revolutionary forces have been destroyed or their actual strength reduced to only five guerrilla fronts nationwide.

### III. THE ARMED COUNTERREVOLUTION WILL CONTINUE TO FAIL

The armed counterrevolution being waged by the Marcos-Duterte ruling combine will continue to fail because the objective conditions of the rapidly worsening crisis of the ruling system are making it impossible for the ruling classes of big compradors and landlords and their bureaucrats to rule in the old way (be it the pseudo-liberal or fascist way); and



because it is actually the subjective forces of the revolutionary movement and the broad masses of the people that are gaining strength and advancing the new democratic revolution under the class leadership of the proletariat and along the general line of protracted people's war.

As the advanced detachment of the proletariat, the CPP has made great achievements in its ideological, political and organizational work. It has been guided by the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and has applied it on the history and current social circumstances of the Filipino people, It has put forward the general line of people's democratic revolution with the strategic line of protracted people's war and with the socialist perspective. It has upheld the principle of democratic centralism and has built a nationwide organization that is well integrated with the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the rest of the people.



NPA fighters from North Central Mindanao stand in attention to render a 21-gun salute for Ka Joma

There is no way that the reactionary state can stop the few CPP cadres from performing their tasks in ideological work. From year to year and from decade to decade, under the auspices of the Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought, they were able to educate more Party cadres and members in the course of mass work and put them through the basic, intermediate and advanced levels of Party education after they take the revolutionary mass course for mass activists.

Revolutionary studies can be carried out in so many ways far beyond the limited capabilities of the enemy to spy on and the study materials are now widely available in hard and soft copies. In their struggle for national and social liberation, the Filipino people regard the CPP as the most important revolutionary weapon responsible for leading the peoples democratic revolution. In turn, the CPP wields two other powerful weapons, armed struggle and the united front (constituted as the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, respectively). The NPA is the main force for fighting and defeating the coercive apparatuses of the reactionary state and enabling the rise of the people's democratic government. The NDFP is responsible for building the comprehensive national united front and winning over the people in their tens of millions to the revolution against the armed counterrevolution.

The NPA carries out the strategic line of protracted people's war of encircling the cities from the countryside. In a semicolonial and semifeudal country like the Philippines, the countryside provides for the widest possible social and physical terrain and area of maneuver for developing the strength of the people's army through definite strategic stages, such as the defensive, the stalemate and counter-offensive. Most of the people are in the countryside. And the main democratic content of the peasant masses is agrarian revolution, the satisfaction of the democratic demand for land.

The NPA is tasked to wage armed struggle as the main form of struggle, carry out genuine land reform from the minimum to the maximum stage and build the revolutionary mass base. It has a

major role in building the mass organizations and the organs of political power that constitute the people's democratic government and carrying out mass campaigns, programs and activities that implement mass education and organization, land reform and socio-economic development, self-defense, settlement of disputes, protection of the environment and other important tasks.

In accordance with the strategic defensive stage, the NPA been victorious in carrying out the people's war through guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. This has allowed the NPA to build the guerilla fronts initially in a few areas and regions and eventually to the eleven major islands inhabited by 94 per cent of the people. Now, the NPA operates in 74 out of the 82 Philippine provinces and enjoys the support of the Filipino people and by the NDFP in all the Philippine provinces.

Every reactionary regime has boasted of being able to destroy the armed revolution within the current term of whoever is the president. But the semicolonial and semifeudal character of the ruling system and its ever-worsening chronic crisis put limits on its ability to control the population and suppress the people's resistance. At any given time, the NPA and other revolutionary forces can work freely and launch tactical offensives in more than 80 per cent of the Philippine archipelago.

Of course, the reactionary armed forces and police can do their best to identify and target the NPA guerrilla fronts with focused or concentrated military campaigns. But the strategy and tactics of guerrilla warfare have served the NPA very well. When the enemy advances in superior force, the NPA main force retreats but deploys command-detonated land mines and sniper teams against the advancing enemy. When the enemy displaces and occupies the area of an NPA guerrilla front, the NPA surveils the enemy deployment in order to be able to know how to harass the enemy camp, hit the isolated perimeter guards and ambush the patrol units.

When the encamped enemy tires out and retreats, it is the turn of the NPA to make the advance and deliver more offensive blows. But even while the enemy seems to have the upper



People's organizations march inside UP-Diliman to pay tribute on December 19, 2022

hand through his advance and encampment, the NPA force on tactical retreat in one guerrilla front can initiate tactical offensives that it can win in a nearby area. Worst of all for the enemy, as has been often the case, in so many other guerrilla fronts in the same region and all other regions the NPA take the initiative to launch tactical offensives by way of strengthening themselves through struggle and helping the guerilla fronts under focused or concentrated enemy attacks.

On the whole in its entire history, the CPP has been excellent and successful in building the nationwide strength of the revolutionary forces by being able to lead and coordinate them in various forms of struggle and, in the field of revolutionary armed struggle, using an existing guerrilla front to beget other guerilla fronts in the same region and provide experienced CPP cadres and NPA commanders and fighters to other regions.

The initial guerrilla front in Tarlac in 1969 led to the building of several guerrilla fronts in Central, Northern and Southern Luzon from 1969 to 1971 and the big wave of CPP-NPA expansion teams to the Visayas and Mindanao from 1972 onwards.

Then within the same decade of the 1970s, the guerrilla fronts of the Visayas and Mindanao helped each other and also provided experienced CPP cadres and Red commanders to Luzon. The CPP, NPA and NDFP have become so well-rooted on a nationwide scale and well-integrated with the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the rest of the people.

#### **IV. PERSPECTIVE OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION**

The people's war in the Philippines is still at the stage of the strategic defensive, advancing from the middle phase to the advanced phase. In concrete terms, nationwide guerrilla warfare is the main form of armed struggle being carried out nationwide. At the same time, NPA companies have arisen from the platoons in preparation for the completion of the strategic defensive and advance to the strategic stalemate wherein companies and battalions will have increasing role in tactical offensives.

The strategic stalemate will probably be shorter than the already protracted strategic defensive with the NPA companies and battalions. Such forces already in stable base areas can be regrouped regiments and battalions in an even shorter time for the strategic counteroffensives to capture or compel the surrender of the last and most fortified and isolated holdouts of the enemy. This is merely a line of probability based of successful civil wars. But there is always the contrary line of probability that US imperialism launches a war of aggression against the people before the Philippine revolution.

The reactionary Marcos-Duterte tandem is hell-bent on continuing the armed

counter-revolution to preserve the ruling system, serve the interests of US imperialism and let the current civil war pave the way for a US war of aggression. The Filipino people have no choice but to carry out the new democratic revolution by continuing the protracted people's war against not only the reactionary state in the current civil war but also the rising military intervention and probable war of aggression by US imperialism.

But there are growing limits to what the US can do to dominate the Philippines, East Asia and the world. It is still No. 1 imperialist power but it is on a strategic decline from its peak after a period of enjoying the status of being sole superpower after the 1991 collapse the Soviet Union, partnering with China in "neoliberal" globalization, expanding the NATO, launching wars of aggression under the so-called neoconservative policy and wasting the enormous amount of USD 10 trillion without any significant increase of territory for exploitation.

The limits of US imperialist power have been exposed by its failure to take over the oil resources and build 16 military bases in Iraq, to destroy the Syria-Russia-Iran alliance, to break the revolutionary struggle of the Turkish and Kurdish people and to hold on to Afghanistan surrendering

A Red fighter in Northeast Mindanao receives news of Ka Joma's passing



it to the Taliban. In the current Russian-Ukraine conflict, the US has been using Ukraine as proxy to threaten and provoke Russia to launch a war but conflict has merely served both Russian and US imperialism to waste resources. It has led even the NATO allies of the US to complain why they have to spend more money for energy supply from the US than for the cheap gas from the Russians.

Despite the recent hype that the US can wage to its advantage a war of aggression against China, DPRK and Russia, the people must be reminded that the US lost the Asian mainland and Eurasia as early as the 20th century after losing a series of wars. The drive of US imperialism for wars of aggression and the danger of world war and nuclear war is still restrained by the fear of mutual annihilation and human extinction on the part of the US and all other nuclear powers. Global warming appears to be more imminent as a threat to human existence than nuclear war.

The crisis of the world capitalist system is rapidly worsening due to the over-accumulation of monopoly capital and over-extraction of surplus value from the toiling masses and the intelligentsia. All major contradiction are intensifying such as those between labor and capital, between the imperialist powers themselves, between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations and between the imperialist power and the countries assertive of national independence and desirous of democracy and socialism.



The 2008 financial meltdown has developed into a global depression far more prolonged and severe than the Great



Tribute with international friends in Utrecht, December 23, 2022

Depression of the 1930s, which led to the rise of fascism and World War II. But in the meantime, there are still the UN and multilateral and bilateral relations of states among both the main imperialist contenders and third world countries that uphold their own national sovereignty and their own interest in peace and development and wish to fight fascism and imperialist war.

It is the toiling masses and the rest of the people who fight for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reaction who let us hope for a bright future of world peace and common prosperity. They are now waging anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggle against the current global crisis that has been brought about by revisionist betrayal of socialism, neoliberalism and fascism. These are the prelude to the resurgence of the world proletarian-socialist revolution.

But my spirit freely roams  
Every region and zone  
In every season.  
What I have done  
For so long in the revolution  
Cannot at one blow be undone.  
It is by you carried on.  
When I was arrested,  
The revolutionary forces  
Were far from the scratch  
Where they started.  
Dare to continue the ascent.  
Don't let anyone's stumble  
Disrupt our great movement.  
Raise the red flag ever higher.  
I am always with you,  
In your studies, work and battles,  
I am always with you,  
Carrying out our urgent tasks.  
I share with you  
Your weal and woe,  
I am always in the line  
Of march with you.  
Cover the whole country;  
Go deep in every locality;  
Overcome every difficulty;  
Ensure our victory.

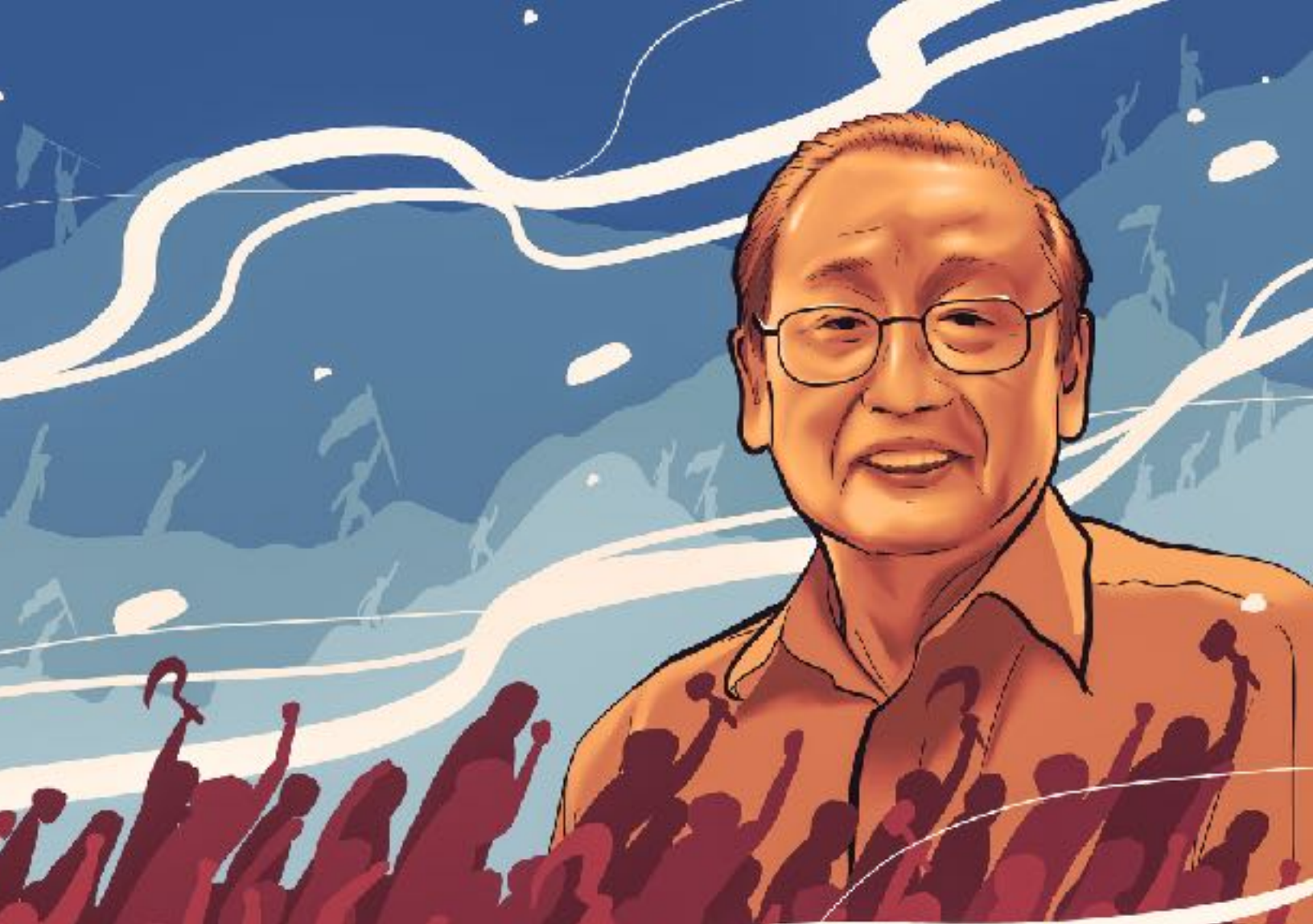
26 December 1977

I AM  
AL  
WAYS  
WITH  
YOU

# THE GUERRILLA RILLA IS LIKE A POET

The guerrilla is like a poet  
Keen to the rustle of leaves  
The break of twigs  
The ripples of the river  
The smell of fire  
And the ashes of departure  
The guerrilla is like a poet  
He has merged with the trees  
The bushes and the rocks  
Ambiguous but precise  
Well-versed on the law of motion  
And master of myriad images  
The guerrilla is like a poet  
Enrhymed with nature  
The subtle rhytm of the greenery  
The inner silence, the outer innocence  
The steel tensile in-grace  
That ensnares the enemy  
The guerrilla is like a poet  
He moves with the green brown multitude  
In bush burning with red flowers  
That crown and hearten all  
Swarming the terrain as a flood  
Marching at last against the stronghold  
An endless movement of strength  
Behold the protracted theme:  
The people's epic, the people's war

1968



**Great communist thinker, leader,  
teacher and guide of the Filipino  
proletariat and torch bearer  
of the international communist  
movement**

RESOLUTION of the SECOND CONGRESS  
of the Communist Party of the Philippines  
November 7, 2016



**T**he Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) extends its profound appreciation and expresses deepest gratitude to Comrade Jose Ma. Sison for his immense contribution to the Philippine revolution as founding chair of the Party, founder of the New People's Army and pioneer of the People's Democratic Government in the Philippines.

Ka Joma is a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist extraordinaire and indefatigable revolutionary fighter. He applied dialectical and historical materialism to expose the fundamental nature of the semicolonial and semifeudal social system in the Philippines. He put forward an incisive class analysis that laid bare the moribund, exploitative and oppressive rule of the big bourgeois compradors and big landlords in collusion with the US imperialists.

He set forth the program for a people's democratic revolution as immediate preparation for the socialist revolution. He always sets sights on the ultimate goal of communism.

Ka Joma was a revolutionary trailblazer. In his youth, he joined workers federations and helped organize unions. Ka Joma formed the SCAUP (Student Cultural Association of the University of the Philippines) in 1959 to promote national democracy and Marxism-Leninism and wage ideological and cultural struggle against the religio-sectarians and anti-communist forces among the student intellectuals. Together with fellow proletarian revolutionaries, he initiated study meetings to read and discuss Marxist-Leninist classic writings.

Under Ka Joma's leadership, the SCAUP organized a protest action in March 1961 against the congressional witchhunt of the Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities which targeted UP faculty members accused of writing and publishing Marxist materials in violation of the Anti-Subversion Law. Around 5,000 students joined the first demonstration with an anti-imperialist



and anti-feudal character since more than ten years prior. As a consequence, Ka Joma became a target of reactionary violence and survived attempts on his life. Unfazed, he and the SCAUP continued to launch protests against the Laurel-Langley Agreement and the Military Bases Agreement and other issues as land reform and national industrialization, workers rights, civil and political liberties and solidarity with other peoples against US acts of aggression up to 1964.

He and other proletarian revolutionaries eventually joined the old merger Socialist and Communist Party in 1961. In recognition of his communist and youthful fervor, he was assigned to head the youth bureau of the old Party and appointed as member of the executive committee. He initiated meetings to study the classic works of Marx, Lenin, Mao and other great communist thinkers which challenged the stale conditions of the old Party.

He founded the Kabataang Makabayan (KM) in November 1964 and led its development as one of the most important youth organizations in Philippine history. As KM chair, and as a young professor and militant, he went on campus tours and spoke before students as well as young professionals to espouse the necessity of waging a national democratic revolution. His speeches compiled in the volume *Struggle for National Democracy (SND)* served as one of the cornerstones of the national democratic propaganda movement. The KM would eventually be at the head and core of large mass demonstrations during the late 1960s up to the declaration of martial law in 1972.

As one of the leaders of the old party, Ka Joma prepared a political report exposing and repudiating the revisionism and opportunism of the successive Lava leadership as well as the errors of military adventurism and capitulation of the Taruc-Sumulong gang of the old people's liberation army. The old party had deteriorated as an out-and-out revisionist party.

Despite Ka Joma's effort, the old party proved to be beyond resuscitation from its revisionist death. Gangsters in the old party would carry out attempts on his life to snuff the revolutionary revival of the Filipino proletariat.

As Amado Guerrero, Ka Joma led the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the theoretical foundations of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. He prepared the Party constitution, the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution and the document *Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party* and presided over the Congress of Reestablishment held in Alaminos, Pangasinan on December 26, 1968. In 1969, he authored *Philippine Society and Revolution* which presents the history of the Filipino people, analyzes the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society and defines the people's democratic revolution. He prepared the Basic Rules of the New People's Army and the Declaration of the New People's Army and directed the Meeting of Red commanders and fighters to found the New People's Army (NPA) on March 29, 1969.

He led the Party in its early period of growth. He wrote the *Organizational Guide and Outline of Reports* in April 1971 and the *Revolutionary*

Ka Joma and Ka Julie (third row behind Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou Enlai) attending the 25th anniversary of the Yanan Forum in China as published in the *People's Daily* on May 8, 1967





Kabataang Makabayan members stage a lightning rally in Manila to honor Ka Joma on December 21, 2022

Guide to Land Reform in September 1972 which both served to direct the work of building the mass organizations, organs of political power, units of the people's army and the Party, as well as in mobilizing the peasants in waging agrarian revolution. He authored the Preliminary Report on Northern Luzon in August 1970 which served as a template in the work of other regional committees.

While directing the development and training of the New People's Army from its initial base in Central Luzon to the forests of Isabela in Cagayan Valley, he also guided the youth activists in waging mass struggles in Metro Manila against the US-Marcos dictatorship.

Ka Joma was ever on top of the revolutionary upsurge of the students and workers movement in 1970 and 1971. Chants of Amado Guerrero's name reverberates in Manila and other cities in harmony with calls to join the people's war in the countryside.

The CPP grew rapidly in its first few years under Ka Joma's leadership. The Party established itself across the country and led the nationwide advance of the revolutionary armed struggle. He personally supervised the political and military training of Party cadres and NPA commanders in

the forested region of Isabela from where they were deployed to other regions.

In 1971, he presided over the Central Committee and presented the Summing-Up Our Experiences After Three Years (1968-1971). He prepared in 1974 the Specific Characteristics of Our People's War which authoritatively laid out the strategy and tactics for waging people's war in the Philippines. In 1975, he authored Our Urgent Tasks, containing the Central Committee's report and program of action. He served as editor-in-chief of Ang Bayan in its first years of publication.

In the underground movement, Ka Joma continued to guide the Party and the NPA in its growth under the brutal fascist martial law regime of dictator Marcos. He issued advisories to underground Party cadres and mass activists. Inspired by the raging people's war in the countryside, they dared the fascist machinery and carried-out organizing efforts among students and workers.

The first workers' strike broke out in 1975 preceding the growth of the workers movement. Large student demonstrations against rising school fees and the deterioration of the educational system were carried out from 1977

onwards completely shattering the terror of martial law.

Ka Joma continued to lead the Party in nationwide growth until 1977 when he and his wife Julie were arrested by the wild dogs of the Marcos dictatorship while in transit from one guerrilla zone to another. He was presented by the AFP to Marcos as a trophy. He was detained, subjected to severe torture, put under solitary confinement for more than five years interrupted only by joint confinement with Julie in 1980-1981, and later partial solitary confinement with one or two other political prisoners from 1982-1985.

While in prison, Ka Joma was able to maintain contact with the Party leadership and revolutionary forces outside through clandestine methods of communication. With the collaboration of Ka Julie, lifelong partner and comrade of Ka Joma, they produced important letters and advisories. In 1983, Ka Julie released the article JMS On the Mode of Production which served as a theoretical elucidation and clarification of the nature of the semicolonial and semifeudal social system in order to cast away confusion brought about by claims of industrialization by the US-Marcos dictatorship. It counterattacked claims made by pretenders to socialism who insist that the Philippines had become a developing capitalist country under the fascist dictatorship.

A powerful upsurge of the anti-fascist mass movement followed the assassination of Marcos archrival Benigno Aquino in 1983. This was principally propelled by the workers and student movement which could mount demonstrations of 50,000 or greater from the late 1970s and early 1980s. In 1984, Ka Joma released the paper On the Losing Course of the AFP under the pseudonym Patnubay Liwanag to assess the balance of forces and to signal to or sway the Pentagon to better drop Marcos, which would entail causing a split in the AFP. In September 1984, the Pentagon acceded to the Armacost formula and decided to join the US State Department and other US agencies

to drop him. By early 1985 Reagan signed the National Security Directive with definite plan to ease out Marcos.

Ka Joma also asserted the need to weaken the reactionary armed strength in the countryside and expand the people's army to a critical mass 25,000 rifles and one guerrilla platoon per municipality as constructive criticism of the plan to carry out a "strategic counter-offensive."

The anti-fascist upsurge culminated in a people's uprising supported by a military rebellion of elements in the reactionary AFP. The Party's persevering and solid leadership of the anti-fascist movement and revolutionary armed struggle created favorable conditions that led to the overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship in 1986. Despite strong opposition by the US and reactionary defense establishment, the Aquino regime was compelled to open the detested gates of the Marcos dungeons allowing Ka Joma to be released.

He wasted no time resuming revolutionary work. In a few months time, he mounted a major lecture series to propound a critical class analysis of the Corazon Aquino regime and expose it as representative of big bourgeois comprador and landlord rule. The series of lectures which later comprised the volume Philippine Crisis and Revolution countered the "political spectrum" analysis of populists which pictured the Aquino regime as a bourgeois liberal regime to goad the revolutionary forces along the path of class collaboration and capitulation.



These populists as well as other charlatans carried out a campaign to undermine the basic analysis of classes and production system in the Philippines to justify the convoluted concept of a strategic counter-offensive wishfully thinking that the people's war can leapfrog to strategic victory bypassing the probable historical course. A number of key leaders of the Party and revolutionary forces were drawn to the self-destructive path of insurrectionism and premature regularization and military

adventurism. This would later bring about grave and almost fatal losses to the Party and the NPA, as well as to the urban mass movement.

Forced to exile in 1987 by the Aquino regime which canceled his passport and travel papers, Ka Joma sought political asylum in The Netherlands while on a lecture tour. He eventually resided in Utrecht and work with other comrades in the international office of the National Democratic Front. Although thousand of miles away from the Philippines, he continued to maintain close contact with the Party leaders in the country and provide advise and guidance to help them in their work.

Ka Joma served as one of the steadfast exponent of the Second Great Rectification Movement launched by the 10th Plenum of the CPP Central Committee in 1992. The Party leadership actively sought Ka Joma's theoretical insights and analysis. In preparing the key document Reaffirm Our Basic Principles and Rectify Errors, the Party leadership referred to Ka Joma and the Party's founding documents which he authored. With Ka Joma's full support, the rectification campaign of 1992-1998 united and strengthened the Party to ever greater heights.

Ka Joma also played a key role in authoring the paper Stand for Socialism Against Modern Revisionism which illuminated the path of

socialist revolution during the dark hours of the complete restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union in 1990 touted in the monopoly bourgeois mass media as the fall of socialism, a refutation of communism, and the "end of history" and final victory of the capitalist system.

Reflecting Ka Joma's sharp Maoist critique of modern revisionism, the paper presented a clear historical understanding of the process of capitalist restoration in the USSR from 1956 onwards. This served as key to understanding the continuing viability of socialism and to inspiring the Filipino proletariat to persevere in the two-stage revolution and the international proletariat to carry forward the socialist cause.

Ka Joma's Utrecht base eventually became a political center of the international communist and anti-imperialist resistance movements. He played an important role in the centennial celebration of Mao Zedong in 1993 which served as a vigorous ideological campaign to reaffirm Marxist-Leninist views and to proclaim Maoism as the third epochal development of Marxism-Leninism.

Up to the early 2000s, he also played a lead role in the formation of the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations (ICMLPO) which serves as a center for ideological and practical exchange among

Comrades from Bicol hold a program to give tribute to Ka Joma



communist and workers parties which stood for socialism and opposed modern revisionism. He provided valuable insights and practical assistance to numerous communist parties from Asia to Europe and the Americas.

Over the past decade, he has led the International League of People's Struggles or the ILPS which has served as coordinating center for anti-imperialist movements around the globe. He authored the paper "On imperialist globalization" in 1997 which clarified that the proletariat remains in the era of imperialism and socialist revolution.

Because of his role in guiding the advance of the international anti-imperialist struggle, Ka Joma was put in the crosshairs of US imperialism. He was included in the US list of "foreign terrorists", together with the CPP and NPA. At 68 years old, he was arrested in 2007 by the Dutch police and detained for more than 15 days.

Since 1992, together with the NDFP Negotiating Panel, Ka Joma has also ably represented the interests of the Filipino people and revolutionary movement in peace negotiations with successive representatives of the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP). He has been appointed as Chief Political Consultant of the NDFP Negotiating Panel and has deftly guided it in negotiations with the GRP over the past 25 years.

Over the past several years, Ka Joma continued to provide invaluable insights into the domestic crisis and the situation of the revolutionary forces. He continues to provide advise to the Party and the revolutionary forces in the Philippines on resolving the problems of advancing the revolution to a new and higher stage.

He has set forth critical analysis of the objective international conditions. He has put forward a Marxist-Leninist critique of the capitalist crisis of



overproduction which is at the base of the international financial crisis and the prolonged depression that has wracked the global capitalist system. He has reaffirmed that we are still at the historical epoch of imperialism, the last crisis stage of capitalism.

Ka Joma is the torch bearer of the international communist movement. Through the dark period of capitalist restoration, he has kept the flames of Marxism-

Leninism-Maoism burning and inspired the proletariat to take advantage of the crisis of global capitalism, persevere along the path of socialism and communism and bring the international communist revolution to a new chapter of revival and reinvigoration.

Resolutions:

The Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) resolves to give the highest honors to Comrade Jose Ma. Sison, great communist thinker, leader, teacher and guide of the Filipino proletariat and torch bearer of the international communist movement.

In recognition of Ka Joma's immense contribution to the Philippine revolution and the international workers movement, the Second Congress further resolves:

1. to instruct the Central Committee to continue to seek Ka Joma's insights and advise on various aspects of the Party's work in the ideological, political and organizational fields.
2. to endorse the five volume writings of Jose Ma. Sison as basic reference and study material of the CPP and to urge the entire Party membership and revolutionary forces to read and study Ka Joma's writings.

The Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) is certain that with the treasure of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist work that Ka Joma has produced over the past five decades of revolutionary practice, the Party is well-equipped



# LONG LIVE THE MEMORY OF KA JOMA! STRENGTHEN THE PARTY AND ADVANCE THE REVOLUTION!

Editorial  
December 21, 2022

**T**he whole party and revolutionary movement give extraordinary honor to Jose Maria Sison (Amado Guerrero), founding chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines, and greatest Filipino and revolutionary leader of the past century. For so long, Ka Joma served as guide and beacon, bastion and bulwark of the Party and the Philippine revolution.

Ka Joma was a master of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the ideology of the proletariat. He led the Party's re-establishment and the resurgence of the Philippine revolution. He studied the basic character of the semicolonial and semifeudal system in the Philippines, exposed the three monsters of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism that primarily enslave the broad Filipino masses, and illuminated the path of national-democratic revolution as the road towards the people's liberation from poverty and oppression.

Ka Joma all-sidedly strengthened the Party. He taught and trained thousands of cadres of the Party's Central Committee, central organs and regional committees, who led the Party's nationwide expansion and strengthening. He led

the establishment of the New People's Army in 1969 and trained and guided the first ranks of Red commanders and fighters. In 1973, he led the establishment of the National Democratic Front (NDF). Under his leadership, the people's war spread like a prairie fire across the country.

When captured by the enemy, he was subjected to nine years of torture inside the fascist dungeons, yet his revolutionary spirit prevailed. He was freed when Marcos's dictatorship was dismantled by the powerful surge of the people's struggle and armed struggle.

Ka Joma was forced into exile in 1987 when his passport was cancelled preventing his return to the country. For over 35 years, he stayed in The Netherlands in a small apartment with his family, and in the care of Filipino migrant workers. No matter the distance, he remained close to the Philippine revolution and gave sharp analyses and timely advice. Ka Joma's exile worked to the advantage of the revolutionary movement as it provided him the conditions and opportunity to enrich the theory of the Philippine revolution based on its ongoing practice. When the Party was led astray, Ka Joma became the light that served as guide for the Second Great Rectification Movement.

He served as the NDF's chief political consultant in peace negotiations with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and excellently guided the forging of historical agreements in line with the aim of achieving just and lasting peace. Thus, the militarist agents of US imperialism, who oppose efforts to resolve the social and economic roots of civil war through negotiations, relentlessly persecuted him.

He was arrested in 2007 in a fabricated case which was eventually dismissed for lacking evidence. He was labeled a "terrorist" by the US and its puppets, an accusation dismissed in a European court in 2009. He was repeatedly accused of masterminding the Plaza Miranda (1971) bombing even though this was dismissed by a Manila court in 1994 for lack of evidence.

It is undeniable that in Philippine history, no one surpasses the work done by Ka Joma in rousing the Filipino people to stand up and fight. Millions of workers, peasants, pettybourgeois intellectual, ordinary employees and professionals across the country rose up, joined forces and took action under the Red flag and the torch of the revolution. All national-democratic activists, Red fighters and Party cadres began their enlightenment and roused by the "Philippine Society and Revolution" (PSR), the most comprehensive analysis of the country's history and conditions.

Because of his leadership, lasting contribution, and lifelong dedication to advancing the Philippine revolution for genuine national freedom and democracy, Comrade Jose Maria Sison is a great hero of the Filipino people. Indeed, he is the greatest of all.

In his death, Ka Joma bequeathed the Party a golden treasure chest brimming with theory of the Philippine revolution. Let us use and further enrich it through our current practice and through the future of waging people's democratic revolution to the socialist

revolution. Its eternal brilliance will serve as our light through the difficult path. Keep his great memory and legacy eternally Red. Firmly continue the revolution which he started with our great martyrs and heroes.

Let us be masters in the theories and lessons left by Ka Joma. Carry forward a movement to review his writings, from the PSR to the "Five Volumes" collection of his articles. Tighten our grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism which is the class standpoint, viewpoint and method of thinking of Ka Joma. A firm grasp of his ideas and guidance is one of the keys to further advancing the Philippine revolution.

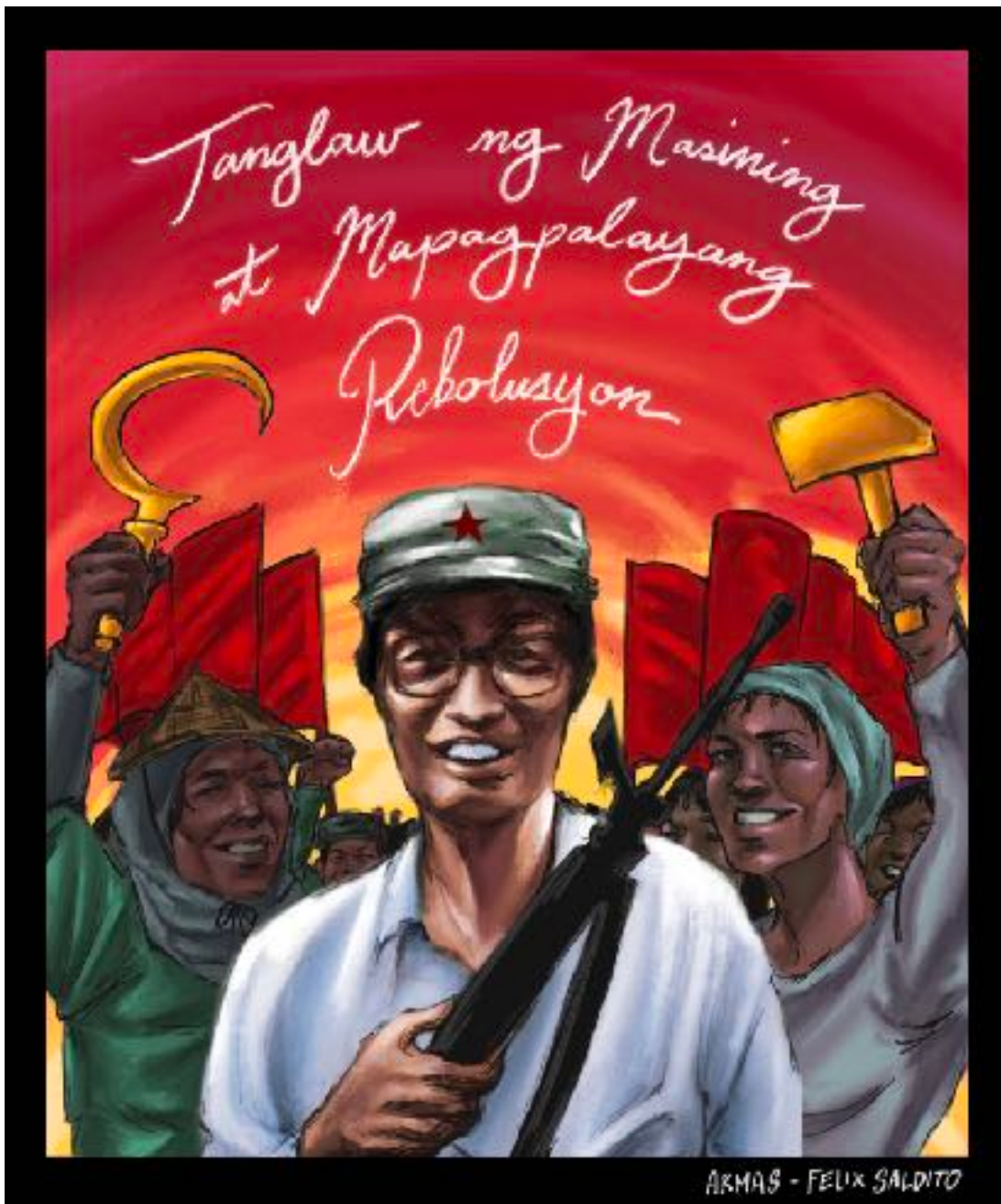
The Communist Party of the Philippines is noble. When Ka Joma re-established it, he was aware of the Party's role as a vanguard of the proletariat that would lead the new democratic revolution, and the entire historical period of the socialist revolution to communist society. It will cover the time beyond a person's life or generation.

The Party was fortunate that Ka Joma's life lasted for more than six decades for him to lead and guide the practical movement. In the second Congress in 2016, the Party paid tribute and expressed its gratitude to Ka Joma.

During Ka Joma's lifetime, several lines of cadres have taken the reins of the Party's leadership. Certainly, several more generations of Party cadres—perhaps some are yet to be born—will be readers and students of Ka Joma's writings, as well as of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao, and will embrace and lead the great aspirations of the proletariat.

Our Central Committee has declared ten days of mourning that will end on the 54th anniversary of the Party. Let us dedicate this day to pay tribute to the memory of Ka Joma. Let us use this occasion to stand together, and reaffirm our determination to march forward and wave high the Red flag of the Party and revolution.





“ Today we declare Ka Joma as the greatest hero of the Filipino people in their past century of resistance against imperialism. His immense contributions to shaping the patriotic and revolutionary consciousness of the Filipino people and breaking open the path towards national and social liberation, will never be erased. ”

*Highest possible tribute to our beloved Ka Joma  
Central Committee, December 17, 2022*